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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this discussion is to examine the response of various organizations to Affirmative Action mandates, and to point up instances of practices which have met with both success and near failure. Since colleges and universities have seemingly grown more like big business and industry, they have become more political in their orientation and values. Extensive use was made of the literature, including news media, government documents, and journals; on-the-spot visitations to various firms advertising vacancies and carrying the "AA/EEOE-Minorities and Women Encouraged to Apply" labels; examining responses to written applications sent to firms advertised in the "Chronicle of Higher Education" and the "Affirmative Action Register"; and collecting data from selected businesses, industries and colleges in Texas. The results of the various investigative sources tend to show that administrators and managers, while advertising as an open system, use hiring practices that are primarily closed, and that the 'old boy' network still prevails. The most astounding findings involve the feuding, procrastinating, and litigation with the federal government and the continuous cries of "reverse discrimination," "racial quotas," and "unqualified minorities both females and males." (Author/BE)

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SCALING THE IVORY TOWER IN SPITE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION GUIDELINES

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Among the most controversial issues needlessly plaguing the academic, business, and industrial world today is that of Affirmative Action. The term 'needlessly' is interjected because -in the words of Robert H. Chanin (1975, p. 89) - "a color blind society in which race is given no consideration, in law or in practice, ought to be the goal of every American, and we can only have a color-blind society in the long run, if we refuse to be color-blind in the short run." So, too, should sex-related biases be banished from our society.

While great strides have been made in race relations over the past ten or so years, our society is still rife with both racial and sexual discriminatory practices. It seems that managers of business and industry, and administrators and faculty in academe, by and large, have learned little or nothing from the decade of the sixties to help them make it through the seventies untarnished. Consequently, the immediate past decade was marred by numerous court cases involving equal employment practices in every section of the country, and criticism of the Affirmative Action process escalated. Critics in academia projected such myths as "lowering standards," "reverse discrimination," "quota setting," and"employing unqualified women and minorities" as facades for thinking imbued with a peculiarly ingrained type of prejudice.

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An Affirmative Action plan is one way for employers in all enterprises to demonstrate commitment to the letter and spirit of the law by taking positive steps to eliminate discrimination in their organizations. It is designed to eliminate discriminatory employment practices and to actively remedy the current effects of past discrimination through a system of goals and time tables. The plan, when properly written, also serves as a policy document to guide an institution's management and operations and to protect both the employer and employees from unconscious discriminatory practices. There is nothing in the Affirmative Action outline or plan to suggest that employers hire unqualified individuals of any race or either sex.

Goals define the objectives and expectations of accomplishment of an Affirmative Action program. They provide management guides for organizing, monitoring, and evaluating the program. They are not quotas. Ersa H. Poston (1978, p. 11) quotes President Carter's concluding memo to the heads of all Federal agencies as these strong words:

> I want to make certain that,. . ., you continue to develop, implement, and enforce vigorously affirmative action programs. I also want to make certain that the Administration's strong commitment to equal opportunity and affirmative action is recognized and understood by all Americans.

Because of the furor created by Affirmative Action, it can not expect to be understood or even accepted, if understood, by too many

Americans. By far, the most blistering attack on the Affirmative Action process and all the federal agencies involved in its design and implementation is presented by Allan Ornstein (1975), who sees Executive Orders No. 4 and 11246 as forcefully eliminating competition for jobs on the basis of ability; the return of racial quotas; reverse discrimination; as giving preferiential treatment to underqualified blacks; as pressurizing prestigious institutions to recruit unqualified minority students; and employ 'qualifiable' blacks and other minorities in proportion to the number in the surrounding or general population. Ornstein goes to great length to document fragmented and isolated cases to prove his points, and sees the elimination of tests as highly political and dangerous to the welfare of the country.

Fortunately, the DeStefano rebuttal (1975) to the Ornstein tirade places the matter of Affirmative Action in proper prospective and should be read by all who want to see America move ahead in its commitment to equal employment opportunities for all Americans.

HEW and the Office of Civil Rights must acknowledge much of the blame for the criticism that has been heaped upon the Affirmative Action process, since its own bungling in the early years 1970-1977 led to law suits by a coalition of approximately 30 education and civil rights organizations for strangling Title IX in red tape. The July 1978 issue of the Chronicle of Higher Education reported that fewer than 500 sex-bias cases had been processed, leaving a backlog of 1,400 cases. Yet, HEW and OCR prohibit individuals from filing private suits. This in

effect, gives the public more fuel for the fire. "If we cannot do it, dont you try!" is what runs through the minds of persons aggrieved. A few cases have been on the books for years, and even with the Guidelines for Affirmative Action in the hands of business, industry and the academic community, some have taken four-to-five-to-six or more years to comply. Both OCR and HEW did a good deal of foot-dragging in terms of sanctions, recommending the withholding of funds, and debarment, as shown later in this discussion.

According to the Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort (V.III), 1974, p. 267 in November 1974 the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Education Association (NEA), et al filed suit against HEW and the Department of Labor for lack of enforcement of Executive Order 11246, as amended, Titles VII and VIII of the Public Health Service Act and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and for inadequate handling of complaints of the Executive Order. Although it has taken four to five years, much reorganization, transferring of power from one federal agency to another, and changes in personnel, the situation appears to be greatly improved, at least in some organizations.

Opinions, of course, differ, depending on who one is, where she or he is located in the workforce, and what's happening to those whom one knows. For example, despite the widespread negative opinions about the manner in which EEOC and HEW were handling discrimination cases in 1974, Marilyn Bender (1974) reported in the New York Times, November 10 edition that the "human composition of business and industry has been

slightly shifting since 1965 when the government outlawed race and sex discrimination in employment. There has been an increase in employment and promotion of women and minorities in jobs for which they were never before considered."

Alan Pifer, (1974,p.8)of the Carnegie Corporation, states that blacks now sit on the boards of directors of General Motors and the Chase Manhattan Bank and on many other corporate boards, and while at present these positions may amount to little more than tokenism, other institutions have moved well beyond that. Pifer acknowledges the fact that there is still a considerable degree of resentment among white, and probably catered to, by politicians for their own purposes.

Peggy Shepard (Black Enterprise, February 1979) quotes Edward Benford, President of Ludot Personnel Services,Inc. in Detroit as saying: "The auto industry is very aggressive, and a leader when it comes to affirmative action," p. 87. Shepard also reports that such firms as IBM, Xerox, and Consolidated Data are listed among the good guys by blacks. On the other hand, Lockett, former Labor Relations supervisor for Ford Motor Company, is reported by Shepard as saying that "Steel companies, advertising agencies, and banks are not really into affirmative action," p. 89. Additionally, Bill Cunningham of the Hatchett and Cunningham firm of Charlotte, North Carolina is reported as targeting the federal government and major networks as "the worst of all," p. 89. According to Wickham (1979), blacks are finding few doors open in the nation's 1,762 daily newspapers, as editors

continue to complain that "We can't find any qualified blacks." Of the estimated 40,000 journalists now working for white dailies, fewer than 1,000 are black, and most of these are concentrated in urban cities where newspapers have circulations of over 100,000.

The matter of sex discrimination was discussed by Theodore (1979) in the Fourth Colloquim sponsored by the Women's Research Team at the National Institute of Education (NIE). Basing her conclusions on 65 studies, over 500 responses to a questionnaire, and her personal experiences, Theodore painted a seriously restrained picture of women who challenge their institutions on the grounds of sex discrimination: "Regardless of whether or not women tried to work within the system, enlisted the help of state and federal compliance agencies, or sought redress through the courts, they found strong resistance by administrators who lied, deceived, stalled, concealed evidence, and distorted facts; who manipulated and divided people; who changed the rules without accountability to appropriate bodies; who punished, harrassed, and otherwise tried to get rid of protesting women through . . . tampering with files, writing negative recommendations, demeaning and demoting women . . ." p. 7. Theodore sees virtually no progress over almost an entire decade 1970-1979. The frustrating slowness of change was addressed in the same colloquim(following Theodore's address)by Jack Peltason, President of the American Council on Education (ACE) and Susanne Howard, Assistant Director of the American Association of University Women (AAUW), both of whom agreed that traditional higher education is male oriented

in terms of hiring, promotion, tenure, and pay.

In the next section of this paper, some specific examples of responses by various organizations to the Affirmative Action mandate will be briefly discussed, followed by discussions on moving in and up the academic ladder in a final section.

RESPONSES BY ORGANIZATIONS TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

After fifteen years of harsh criticism and fiery debates, as well as bureaucratic red tape, Affirmative Action is emerging as a feasible way to convert deferred dreams for blacks and other minorities into reality. Black professionals, business men/women, and even laborers are making some inroads into the mainstream of the U.S. free enterprise system, and, says, Lynn Norment (Ebony, January, 1980, p. 58), "without a doubt, much of the economic and social progress made by minorities and women in recent years is due to equal employment opportunities made possible by Affirmative Action programs."

EEOC Chairman, Eleanor Holmes Norton, having received a 30 per cent budget increase, is vigorously tackling the backlog of race and sex discrimination complaints; while Weldon Rougeau, director of the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) is making much headway in investigating companies with federal contracts who violate provisions for employing and promoting minorities and women. Until 1977 both the EEOC and OFCCP were underfunded and underpowered, and a backlog of over 100,000 cases were on the books. "In 1978 the OFCCP debarred eight companies as compared to only 112 companies debarred in the twelve years between 1965 and 1977," commented Poole (1980, p.31).

"We are prepared to mess with their purse strings; the threat to debar is no longer an idle one . . .", says Rougeau (1980, p.58). Concurring, Poole (1980, p. 33) suggests that "These companies feel it is better to voluntarily put in an Affirmative Action plan that will cost the company from $750,000 to over a million dollars a year to operate than to face the possibility of an embarrassing discrimination settlement that could-based on what the federal government has been winning against offending companies-cost up to $40 million." Still many companies, schools, and colleges take the risk. A few are cited below:

Business and Industry

Sears, Roebuck--Six years of legal bickering between Sears and the United States EEOC over the former's practices relative to the employment of women and minorities erupted in an unprecedented class-action suit by Sears in January 1979 against the U.S. Attorney General and the heads of nine other federal agencies. America's foremost retail merchant supposedly represented other retail sellers which employ fifteen or more persons and subject to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Sears claimed that 1) the government programs over the past 40 years created the situation wherein white males predominate in the workforce, and made it virtually impossible to meet government imposed goals for employing minorities and women; 2) through government inefficiency and disorganization, EEOC has failed to enforce many laws that were intended to bring about a more diverse workforce; 3) abdication of EEOC's responsibility in the practice of employing private attorneys to prosecute the cases of discrimination; and, among

others, 4) concentration of women and minorities in federal employment in the lowest pay grades.

After attempted conciliation efforts failed, EEOC broke off talks, and, in late October filed five separate lawsuits against Sears for discrimination against women and minorities in training, pay, promotion, recruitment, and hiring in almost all their locations. Blacks were being discriminated in Atlanta, Georgia; Montgomery, Alabama; and in Memphis, Tennessee; while both blacks and Hispanics were cited as experiencing discrimination in Sears New York City stores.

On the Sears suit, Flygare (1979, p. 672) commented: "If the Sears suit does nothing else, it will be beneficial to the extent that it focuses attention on the largely inept federal civil rights enforcement practices."

Western Electric--Kyriaki Cleo Kyriazi, a Greek native, was employed as an engineer by Western Electric in 1965. A year later, she was moved to the Kearny, New Jersey plant, where she was reported to be personally harrassed by male colleagues who made the work environment intolerable. Her supervisors paid no attention to her complaints, and subsequently fired her. More than ten years later, Kyriaki filed suit, and a District Judge, finding Western Electric in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, ordered reinstatement with full backpay and with collection of $1500.00 from each of three male colleagues and two supervisors. Patricia Harris warned: "This department will not tolerate sexual harrassment." She ordered HEW officials to accept and investigate allegations of sexual harrassment . . ."(MS Gazette, 1980, p. 27). The Kyriazi case may alert both employer and employees that

on-the-job sexual harrassment can be costly," says Matusewitch (1980, p. 27).

Monsanto Textiles,Inc.--In a case somewhat similar to the Kyriazi Case cited above, Monsanto Textiles paid $10,000.00 to a female who sued through the New York State Human Rights Commission claiming she had been fired for rebuking the advances of her supervisor in 1978.

Firestone Rubber Company--In the Firestone Case against the government, the former argued that goals and timetables imposed by the federal government are in fact quotas, which were struck down by the Supreme Court in the Bakke case. The government countered by explaining that these were flexible targets that employers are asked to make every good-faith to meet. An Administrative LAw Judge stated in effect that "according preferences to minorities and women somewhat narrows the distinction between flexible goals and quotas." This gave Firestone a ray of hope. However, the case is not yet settled. Flygare (1979, p. 673) again appears to be on the side of industry, and asserts that both the Firestone and the Sears suit will, in the long run, cause a refinement in civil rights enforcement practices that will be beneficial to all.

Building Trades Employers' Association--The president of the Building Trades Employers' Association in New York City, H. Earl Fullilove is challenging Kreps of the government for allocating approximately 10 per cent of the money to minority contractors. Business men, civil rights leaders and government officials are watching the outcome of this case. The Department of Commerce and

Small Business Administration have been awarding these contracts. In 1978 more than three billion dollars in federal contracts were awarded to minority firms, according to Lynn Norment (1980).

Duke Power Company--Schustereit (1980) has termed the Griggs v. Duke Power Company a landmark decision regarding Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO). He notes(p. 403-404) that "While dealing specifically with the relation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to a preemployment testing practice that proved to be discriminatory to Blacks, Griggs has established several general principles that have become precedents in EEO matters. . .'if an employment practice can be shown to have negative consequences for one of the legally protected groups, that practice must be shown to be related to job performance, or the practice will be prohibited! . . The preemployment test was not shown to be validly job-related, and was banned."

Southwestern Bell Telephone Company--Although,to my knowledge, no suit has been filed against Southwestern Bell, individuals desiring to do so, could very well have a case similar to the Griggs v. Duke Power Company Case mentioned above. During the summer of 1979, I took a "so-called" standardized test with approximately seven other Blacks and two whites. The test seemingly had no relationship to the position of Field Consultant, and the administrator of the test gave the instructions so fast that those taking it began looking at each other in disgust. After the test, the administrator said: "All may go, except (name omitted), a white male. I hung around for a few minutes to hear him try to persuade the young man to take a job in Dallas. He had not

even seen the test results. After about fifteen minutes, a personable young lady came in to inform me that my score was not good enough to be considered for a position, but that I could take the test again, after six months. I said, "Good! I'll come back!" As a 'certified Educational Diagnostician', I can attest to the fact that the test administered and the manner in which it was administered were inappropriate for the type of employment under consideration.

At the Personnel Offices of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce; the Department of Labor's Census Bureau, Dallas; The Longview, Texas News & Journal Office; Texas Eastman, Longview, Texas; Data Processing Corporation, Dallas; Texas Instruments, Dallas; Airlines Personnel Service, Dallas; The Neiman Marcus Service Center, Dallas; Taylor Publishing Company, Dallas; The National Bank of Commerce, Dallas; and the Dallas Morning News there was not one minority (black) seen. However, there were lots of white females, most of them interviewing. I was offered a position as Correspondence Clerk at the Neiman Marcus Service Center and accepted it because of the interesting features of the job as explained by the Interviewer. For example, sales amounted to more than $8 million dollars per week, and, frequently, the buyers would come in personally to argue with the Correspondence Representatives; also, the fact that each Correspondence Clerk had from two to four alphabets only. A few days prior to the proposed starting date for me, I reluctantly sent a letter of resignation thanking them and stating that it was impossible for me to make the move to Dallas at this time. In reality, it was the low, entry level starting salary offered me, which runs true to the general literature on job offerings for blacks, even with qualifications higher than the Supervisors in many instances.

This section ends on a positive note reported in the Dallas Times Herald(Saturday, March 29, 1980, p. 5 C)relative to 18 minority-owned accounting firms' receipt of a total of $5.3 million in subcontracts for the auditing of the nation's 35-largest oil refining companies. Louis F. Moret, director of the Department of Energy's Office of Minority Participation indicated that the contract signing transferred a 30 per cent share of the $17.7 million auditing contract to black and Hispanic-owned businesses, and is the biggest single support service contract ever let by the DOE and the largest single total of federal money awarded to the minority business segment of the accounting profession. Two of the subcontractors are tied to the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Larry Jobe, managing partner of the Dallas office,stated that the Carter administration has encouraged contractors with the federal government to make these type of commitments. Additionally, Jobe said that "it's important that minorities participate in the economic system, receive the fruits of it, and become a part of it. We need to give them some assistance to try to bridge that gap."

Jean Lambden, Abstracts Editor for COMMENT (1979),stated on the front cover of the December issue: ". . . . Despite the stimulus provided by federal legislation and judicial rulings, educational integration continues to meet with resistance, hostility, subterfuge, and outright avoidance of compliance." This statement is representative of the general attitudes expressed in the literature on Affirmative Action, and is a sad commentary on a so-called profession struggling to stay alive and well in the face of declining enrollments, dwindling dollars, and a 'turned-off' citizenry. If any group should be in the forefront

of Affirmative Action, it is the educators, from federal government groups such as the National Institute of Education down to the Early Childhood Education Organization, so-called leaders of society and molders of character for young, middle-aged and the elderly. Yet, with few notable exceptions, the opposite prevails, both in precept and example, as presented next.

Educational Organizations

State and National Organizations--A new study mandated by Congress under the Education Admendments of 1976 under the title, "The Study of Sex Equity in Vocational Education," revealed that in more than 60 per cent of the state and local school staffs, male and female students continue to be discouraged from entering nontraditional areas. Of the 49 states and District of Columbia few have exerted corrective action to overcome the remaining equities. According to the NEA Human Rights Report (1980), the sample included 100 comprehensive and vocational high Schools, technical institutes, and community colleges. A member of the NEA Special Committee on Vocational and Practical Arts Educators, Peggy Dotson (1980) commented that there are not enough nontraditional role models in vocational education to encourage the students to take the courses, especially auto mechanics and welding. One has only to deny a student the opportunity to take such courses, and he is in for a court case, however.

The Federal Interagency Committee on Education, Federal Agencies and Black Colleges (1979) reported that the latter's share of federal obligations averaged 4.8 percent in 1970, and by 1977, they had reached 5.3 percent - an increase of .5 percent in seven years, clearly no

substantial progress. For the fiscal year transition quarter 1976-1977, of the $3,378,000 amount allocated to all colleges by the National Institute of Education (NIE), not one dime was given to black colleges. However, research grants since that time have increased from zero to $609,792 in 1979. The National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities in its recent report by Dr. Stephen Wright (1979,p.17) recommended that "funding sources, especially the departments and agencies of the federal government and the major foundations re-examine their grant patterns and procedures with respect to equity and fairness where research related to the education of blacks is concerned." NIE has made some effort to stimulate more research on the part of minorities and women. Braithwaite (1979) reported that NIE had more than fifty funded programs across the country in 1979.

In Texas, the state's twenty Regional Education Service Centers are all headed by white males, and while there is a high percent of white females employed in these centers, few, if any are black. In fact, the advertising practices mainly involve "in-house bulletin boards and word-of-mouth procedures." The Adams and Bailey (1980) report to the Educators Research Council showed that these agencies employ less than six percent of Blacks and hispanics. The Texas Education Agency itself has no better record concerning blacks. Most of the work of the Regional Service Centers is geared to elementary schools and Special Education; therefore, white females, former classroom teachers, are very much involved. The general public would never know of vacancies in these agencies unless they made visits to

them and examine the bulletin board notices. Thus, they, like the Federal Government's Regional Offices, have practically "closed access" to the available vacancies. One must travel distances of from 50 to more than 500 miles to visit the Federal District Offices to examine their bulletin board offerings, and the most lucrative positions are offered to those who are eligible to "move up" from within the establishment. In former years, the federal government sent out to the post offices announcements of vacancies. This is no longer practiced, and is comparable to creating and fostering discriminatory practices by geographical location.

Post-Secondary Institutions--On December 23, 1979, the Dallas Times Herald (p. 1, 8)reported that "If Texas follows the lead of other southern states, its state universities will spend the 1980s in a long, fierce battle with the federal government over desegregation. . . . . After more than a year of investigation, federal officials have found disparities in facilities and financing at the four state universities that serve mostly minorities, ... and that white schools as a group remain more than 90 percent white."

After years of negotiations, HEW accepted Georgia's plan of desegregation that merged two programs at predominantly white Armstrong State University with its 2800 students and Savanah State University with an enrollment of 2100 mostly black students. Armstrong now offers the only Teacher Education program in town, and Savannah State, the only Business Education Program. The Black president considered this HEW suggestion more palatable than the complete merger or making one a Junior College.

A Federal judge in Tennessee ordered complete merger of predominantly white University of Tennessee and predominantly black Tennessee State because the former offered only night classes for working adults. However, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th District found that as soon as both schools opened their doors, competition from expanding University of Tennessee, Nashville became intense. HEW suits are still pending in Louisiana and Mississippi, after Louisiana failed to submit plans and the Mississippi plans were unacceptable.

The University of North Carolina has had the longest running battle over desegregation in higher education, although Friday, the University President,said recently that there has never been any time when they'd been acting in any spirit of defiance of Title VI. Both black and white schools are afraid of enforced mergers.

Fleming, Gill, and Swinton (1978) reported that a General Accounting Office (GAO) study found that the Dallas and San Francisco Regional Offices were conducting prolonged periods of mediation and conciliation while providing assistance to colleges and universities in an effort to get them to develop acceptable Affirmative Action plans. The Dallas office engaged in such action for ten months for eleven colleges before the plans were again disapproved. At the same time, the San Francisco Regional Office had been mediating and conciliating with four institutions for an average of three years. The GAO study concluded that OCR's credibility had been seriously damaged because it did not initiate sanctions, where required, but provided prolonged periods of mediation, conciliation, and technical assistance in stead. This last statement is perhaps the reason for much of the procrastination and bottle-necking of cases in

the civil rights office, and also the reason why many individuals and organizations sued the federal agencies for their failure to enforce the laws. Much of this inaction changed with the Carter administration and a reorganization of functions within other federal agencies.

The Public Schools-- While there are literally hundreds of cases involving violations of Title VI, VII, VIII, and IX, a swing away from those cases to a public school system that calls itself a 'Showcase for Affirmative Action' might bring a moment of relief, at least to some of us. Ruth B. Love, Superintendent of the Oakland Public Schools (1979) reports a strong and successful Affirmative Action program in operation. The Oakland Unified School District with its total of 100 schools, 23 children's centers, 53,000 students in regular programs, 27,000 in preschools, adult education, and other special programs has increased the percentage of minority representation in almost every category of classified and certificated employees. The teaching staff is reported to be 49 percent minority and the classified personnel are 67 percent minority.

Eight factors account for the progress in Affirmative Action in the Oakland School District. These include: 1) Competence is the major criterion for all hiring and promotion; 2) A diverse staff is provided; 3) Top-level administrative backing is assured; 4) An Affirmative Action officer with clout is on board; 5) A diverse Committee on Affirmative Action represents school and community; 6) The Affirmative Action Officer keeps accurate, up-to-date records and is alert to any discrepancies; 7) A well-defined procedure for implementation of Affirmative Action on three levels is maintained: a) hiring

requests processed for new personnel or promotion of existing ones, 2) hiring, and 3) assigning new employees; 8) a workable grievance procedure is in operation. Additionally, minority contractors get 17 percent a month and the District's goal is 25 percent for items costing $10,000 or less; minority contractors must be 25 percent of every workforce and 25 percent of the total dollars must go to minority contractors. This means that $16,201,148 go to minority contractors which helps to combat unemployment. The District's policy in lawsuits has, thus far, prevailed.

Academic excellence is the District's chief concern. Love (1979, pg. 193) says: "Regardless of where the students live, irrespective of their ethnic background or economic status, we expect them to achieve and perform."

Other states might do well to send scouts out to visit with Superintendent Love in lieu of planning ways to skirt Affirmative Action.

MOVING IN AND UP THE IVORY TOWER

Eleanor Holmes Norton (1980), EEOC Chairman believes that the greatest form of employment discrimination in the country is that of bringing in minorities and women and leaving them down at the entry level forever. Further, that "employers' preconceptions of who is promotable and the deeply ingrained stereotype of the white male department head makes upward mobility a 'particularly obstinate' problem in the workplace." (p. 33)

Schustereit (1980) cautions both the interviewer and the interviewee that the Equal Employment Opportunity laws have had legal

implications in recruiting, testing, hiring, and promotional practices and urges both to become familiar with the Supervisor's EEO Handbook. The interviewer, especially, needs a feeling of security in asking the right questions without being suspected of utilizing discriminatory language.

Whisenhunt (1980) reflects on the new ritual of "open advertising" and the procedures of the search committee and wonders just how really open and honest the present day so-called searches are. His experiences parallel those of my own in terms of letters, the 'return card' for applicants' pool, and even the interviews conducted. Socolow (1978) revealed that 76 percent of the institutions surveyed advertise positions nationally, while continuing to use the "old boy" network in employment. Only 24 percent of the positions advertised were filled by those applicants who had no prior connections with the institution, administrators or faculty doing the hiring, and often internal candidates are appointed or selected prior to the Affirmative Action advertising.

Two kinds of recruitment seem to be in general use, according to investigations by Caplow and McGee (1958): open or competitive and closed or preferiential hiring; the former being theoretical, and the latter,practical. Marshall (1964), Brown (1965), and Lewis(1975) literally agree on the following factors as influencing where or how one gets a job: the right connections (friends, acquaintances, ascription), where one gets his doctorate, number of publications, and where one is presently working. Where one is teaching also helps to determine where he will go from there, and research that

is produced at obscure or undistinguished colleges and universities is universally invisible. Thus, one can go through a maze of exotic search committees and interviews under the guise of openness and almost never get the position applied for. Lists of vacancies are widely adverticed in the Chronicle of Higher Education, but to use this or any other formal source appears to be suicidal, for,as Lewis (1975) indicates, only the ingenuous or desperate depend on such.One has only to read the array of letters from various Affirmative Action Pools or from the Chairmen of Search Committees to realize that much of them is mythological and/or perfunctory.

Applicants with a disadvantaged or social class background rarely ever get into the most prestigious colleges and universities because of their attitudes and behavior. If they succeed in obtaining positions in such institutions, "moving up" is even more difficult for them. It is almost like being a female, white or black. Newsweek (December 10, 1973) reported that of the 4,470 tenured professors in seven Ivy League institutions and M. I. T., only 151 were women. Even worse, in a report on the Status of Women at Harvard (June 1970), it was revealed that the only female full professor at that time was the holder of a chair endowed for a female. A year later, there were three female professors with tenure compared with 582 male tenured professors (Newsweek, May 17, 1971, p. 102). Jo Freeman (1970) reported that for almost seventy years, no woman junior appointee in six social science departments at the University of Chicago ever attained the rank of full professor. Parenthetically, at small Black Colleges, advancement in rank may be attained by the clout one has with the administration. Persons who have no record of publications have, in many instances, attained the rank of full

professor, but they are scheduled to go nowhere, and help to create the overall impression by whites that blacks are unqualified,which is indeed untrue, at least for many blacks.) Astin and Bayer(1973) revealed from their highly complex and statistical research that even when a woman attains the doctorate from a prestigious institution, and produces scholarly work, she cannot expect promotion as quickly as her male counterpart. This situation is changing, although slowly. A landmark case is the recent victory won by Christine Sweeney in her six year fight for full professorship at Keene State College in New Hampshire, where in the almost seventy years of the college's existence, only three other women had attained that rank. The U.S. Supreme Court awarded Sweeney backpay, legal fees, and costs because Keene had been found to exhibit a pattern of sex discrimination in hiring, promotion, and salaries, according to the NEA ADVOCATE,(March 1980, p. 1, 3.)

In view of the fact that the courts have decided not to abdicate their duty in relation to sex discrimination in higher education and that women and minorities will be unrelenting in their efforts to achieve equality, Satryb and Kemerer (1980) advance these suggestions to employers in academe: 1) Recruit women and minorities into entry level positions and provide them with on-the-job training and an opportunity for promotion; 2) Develop a career ladder program promotional policy in each department; 3) Provide adequate financial support for the Affirmative Action program; 4) Send a recruitment committee to various graduate institutions; 5) Assign a colleague to new employees to acclimate them academicwise, socially, and professionally to the community; and 6) Urge all campus constituents to improve their attitudes for Affirmative Action appears to be here to stay.

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